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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this summary report is to briefly explain the conclusions and recommendations contained in the April (1988) Report of New Zealand's Royal Commission on Social Policy. Features of contemporary society which should govern social policy over the next decade are discussed. Four points stand out. First, improvements must be made in race relations in New Zealand, particularly in the position of the Maori and the role of women. Second, economic and social policies must be designed to provide extensive paid and unpaid employment opportunities. Third, major change is required in the way that the state and its institutions carry out their responsibilities. Fourth, economic and social policy should be designed jointly, and their impacts monitored and assessed on a regular basis. An executive summary is followed by discussion of the Commission's tasks, social policy and the Treaty of Waitangi, women's issues, the interrelationship of economic and social policy, the role of the state, work, income maintenance and taxation, funding and provision of social services, the justice system, equality of the races, Pacific Island Peoples' perspectives, and perspectives on the elderly, young, and disabled. (RH)

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TOWARDS A FAIR AND JUST SOCIETY



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

TE KŌMIHANA A TE KARAUNA MŌ NGĀ ĀHUATANGA-Ā-IWĪ

TOWARDS A FAIR AND JUST SOCIETY

ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

TE KŌMIHANA A TE KARAUNA MŌ NGĀ ĀHUATANGA-Ā-IWĪ

FOREWORD

The purpose of this summary report is to explain in a short form and without detailed argument the conclusions and recommendations contained in the April Report of the Royal Commission. That report was presented five months early because of the pace of decision-making within Government.

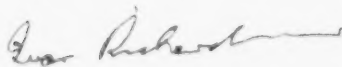
The essential object of all social policy is to shape policies and structures and to organise institutions of society to reflect the values and goals of New Zealanders. This is a continuing need and there are certain features of today's society which the Commissioners are satisfied should govern social policy over the next decade. These are discussed in the text. Four points stand out:

1. If we are to succeed as a society, New Zealand must do much better in two central areas. One is race relations and particularly the position of the Maori. The other is the role of women.
2. The importance of work, both paid and unpaid, to the wellbeing of all New Zealanders is crucial. The primary instrument for achieving a fair and just society must be economic and social policies designed to provide wide employment opportunities.
3. Major change is required in the way the state and the institutions of the state carry out their responsibilities. There is a need for more effective individual and community participation with power, responsibility and resources moving closer to local communities.
4. Economic and social policy are necessarily linked as interdependent means of achieving the same goal of social wellbeing. They should be designed jointly and their economic and social impacts should be regularly monitored and assessed.

The Royal Commission has made numerous specific recommendations in various areas. The immediate fiscal or budgetary effects need not be large. They would result in savings in some areas, increases in others. And failure to reflect in policy the values and goals of New Zealanders would itself have longer term social and economic costs.

The major recommendations call for a reshaping of policies, structures and organisations to achieve the best and wisest use of all our resources, both material and human. That is as important now when material resources are tightly limited as it is in times of economic prosperity.

The work of the Royal Commission on Social Policy has now ended. The future of our recommendations now rests with the Government and the people of New Zealand.



Chairman

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Wellington, New Zealand
June, 1988

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Members of the Royal Commission on Social Policy from left, Marion Bruce, Len Cook, Sir Ivor Richardson, Rosslyn Noonan, Mason Durie and Ann Ballin.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The April Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) comprises four volumes (Volume III spans two books). A guide to the contents of each volume is given at the end of this summary report (p. 58).

Most of what you are about to read is drawn from Volume II which contains the major principles and recommendations of the Commissioners. We also refer to research and supporting papers in other volumes.

References to the April Report read like this:

April Report, Vol II: 525-588; Vol III, Part One: 79-278.

1.1 Goal of social policy

Social wellbeing should be the goal of social policy. Social wellbeing exists when all members of the community have a reasonable expectation of achieving those things which are generally accepted as necessary for a healthy and happy life.

In our work we balance two different approaches – that of Maori emphasis on community, with the belief in individual rights and freedoms underlying much Western thought. In Maori practice, people's rights, needs or the idea of their individual wellbeing cannot be separated from the rights that are associated with group membership. We see these as complementary approaches necessary in the development of social policy.

1.2 Recommendations for change

1. *The role of the state*

The state is the ultimate expression of collective responsibility, which alone can ensure a sufficient standard of living and genuine opportunity for all, and a fair distribution of wealth and resources.

Major change is required in the way the state and the institutions of the state carry out their responsibilities to:

- ┐ Reflect the partnership concepts in the Treaty of Waitangi.
- ┐ Allow more participation and greater representation from the community in decision-making at all levels.
- ┐ Devolve power, responsibility and resources in partnership and according to the principle of subsidiarity (nothing should be done by a larger and higher social unit that can be done effectively by a smaller and lower unit).
- ┐ Make information and decision-making procedures more open and accessible.
- ┐ Provide a co-ordinated approach to social and economic policy.
- ┐ Provide for effective monitoring and assessment.

2. The Treaty of Waitangi

One of the foundations of New Zealand society is the Treaty of Waitangi. It is the heritage of all New Zealanders and should be applied to social and economic policies, now and in the future.

An important recommendation, given priority by the Commission, is that the Treaty should receive constitutional recognition and become an integral part of our way of life, our laws and the further development of our country. Eight other recommendations stemming from that point seek to reduce inequalities and injustices in society by providing a basis for partnership and full participation.

3. Women

The position of women will only be significantly improved when:

- ┘ Responsibility for caring work is shared more equally with men.
- ┘ Women share equally with men in decision-making and other political processes, as well as in employment and in family and community life.
- ┘ All policy recognises the diversity of perspectives and experiences among women and between women and men.

To achieve these goals the Commission makes a number of recommendations which would ensure:

- ┘ The economic and social importance of unwaged work is reflected in policy formation.
- ┘ Waged work is structured in ways which take account of essential unwaged work.
- ┘ Strengthening of whanau, hapu and iwi structures and resourcing of Maori women's initiatives based on kaupapa Maori.
- ┘ More effort is made to change those patterns of male behaviour which are harmful to women in particular and society in general.

4. The inter-relationship of economic and social policy

Economic and social policy are interdependent and complementary means of achieving the same goal of improving social wellbeing. To promote a better and more humane balance between economic and social policy an integrated and co-ordinated policy approach is necessary.

An integrated and co-ordinated approach should provide a broader and more sensitive framework for both choosing and implementing economic and social goals. Improved monitoring and feedback systems would improve policy design, and better information on policy should be available for policy-makers and the public.

5. Work

The primary means of achieving a fair society must be economic and social policies designed to provide wide employment opportunities. Full employment should rank alongside low inflation and economic growth as a key objective of all policy.

The way paid and unpaid work is distributed throughout the community is critical to the development of fair yet efficient social policy. Adequate measurements of unpaid work should be developed and certain work which is currently unpaid should be paid. The state has a responsibility to ensure that the labour market operates in a way that enables people to combine paid and unpaid work.

All discrimination in the labour market should be eliminated. Amendments to the Human Rights Act should outlaw discrimination on the grounds of disability, sexual identity or age. Legislation is required for equal pay for work of equal value and for affirmative action programmes.

6. Income maintenance and taxation

New Zealand's system of income maintenance and taxation was not designed to cope with a long period of economic downturn and high and persisting unemployment. Policy reform should be built on social and economic policies intended to widen employment opportunities. Like all social policy, it should be based on clear objectives, according to established principles and criteria, within a consistent framework.

Specific reforms should include:

- ┆ The social security system should be simplified and standardised.
- ┆ The individual adult, not the couple, should become the unit of assessment for income maintenance. A "living alone" allowance should be paid.
- ┆ A youth allowance should be paid as an incentive for young people to remain in education or training.
- ┆ An indexed family benefit and carer's allowance should become the major means of delivering income support to families.
- ┆ Over time the treatment of the sick and disabled should become comparable with that of the injured in respect of income support and access to health services.
- ┆ A two tier national superannuation system should be gradually introduced from 1995. This would have an income-tested benefit paid at age 65 with a universal component from age 68.

7. Funding and providing social services

A continuing role for the state is justified in the funding and provision of social services.

That role should create opportunities for partnership with other groups, including voluntary organisations and Maori delivery systems. It should include overall planning, co-ordinating and monitoring, and setting standards and regulations.

Health, education, housing and early childhood services are social services which should be funded directly, not by way of cash transfers or allowances. Each of these is fundamental to a social structure which gives all its members the opportunity to live a reasonably fulfilling and enjoyable life.

8. The justice system

A workable, credible justice system is essential for a fair and just society. The basic principles underlying the system of justice are that:

- ┆ It should be accessible and affordable to all citizens. It should protect the rights of minorities' and disadvantaged groups.
- ┆ Its decisions should be enforceable.
- ┆ It should be politically independent.
- ┆ It should provide a system of punishment which is humane, consistent and proportionate to the offence.

Review of the Matrimonial Property Act is required to ensure that the law attempts:

1. To achieve an equality of result between husband and wife, which will generally involve compensation for a spouse who has sacrificed economic advancement in the interests of the marriage and of the children.
2. To protect the living standards of the children who will suffer if their housing is insecure.

9. The equality of the races

The Treaty of Waitangi and an orientation towards the South Pacific should provide the framework for racial equality. Policies should support and sustain the various ethnic groups within our community.

Recommendations from the broad areas of social policy (the Treaty of Waitangi, women, work, and the role of the state) address racial inequality. Priority should be given to recommended changes in immigration policies.

10. Pacific Island peoples' perspective

The above recommendations apply with particular force to Pacific Island peoples. Areas requiring particular attention include employment opportunities, appropriate housing and education, including mother tongue teaching. In view of past colonial relationships and continuing influence in the Pacific, New Zealand must recognise its special obligations to Pacific Island peoples.

11. Young people, elderly people and people with disabilities

Recommendations from other areas apply broadly to these groups, but a number of policy suggestions have been made in relation to each of these groups.

TASKS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

The Royal Commission on Social Policy was established by the Government in October 1986.

The Government outlined two main tasks in our terms of reference – to see how New Zealand as it is today measures up as a fair and just society, and to recommend improvements where society is falling short.

2.1 From the terms of reference

April Report, Vol I: v-vii.

We used the following standards and foundations laid down in the terms of reference to judge whether New Zealand society is at present fair and just:

Standards

- ↓ Dignity and self-determination for individuals, families and communities.
- ↓ Maintenance of a standard of living sufficient to ensure that everybody can participate in and have a sense of belonging to the community.
- ↓ Genuine opportunity for all people, of whatever age, race, gender, social and economic position or abilities to develop their own potential.
- ↓ A fair distribution of the wealth and resources of the nation, including access to the resources which contribute to social wellbeing.
- ↓ Acceptance of the identity and cultures of the different peoples within the community and understanding and respect for cultural diversity.

Foundations of our society and economy

- ↓ Democracy based on freedom and equal rights.
- ↓ Adherence to the rule of law.
- ↓ Collective responsibility of our society for its members with continuing roles for individuals, families, voluntary social groups, ethnic and tribal affiliations and other communities as well as local and central government.
- ↓ The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- ↓ The operation of a mixed economy with private, co-operative and public activity.
- ↓ The responsibility which all people have to be independent and self-reliant to the best of their ability, and to contribute to society.
- ↓ A commitment to the country's children and regard for the future generations of this country.
- ↓ The equality of men and women and the equality of all races.

There are overseas examples of a co-ordinated approach which include a commitment to paid employment as a source of individual and social wellbeing.

We believe that, while elements of such overseas strategies are worth considering, New Zealand would need a co-ordinated view of social and economic policy appropriate to its own values and cultures.

5.2 Policy interactions in practice

We examined a number of ways in which economic and social policy interact. Overall, changes in economic policy have a very large impact on society, while changes in social policy tend to have a smaller impact.

An important example of interaction in the last few years is the structural reform of the economy. The Government has restructured the economy using three main thrusts – removal of subsidies, the reform of regulatory controls and reform of the state sector. The immediate and most obvious effect has been on employment, again with some regions particularly hard hit.

It has been argued that structural reform has to occur first to make improved social wellbeing possible, and that the losses for some people would be outweighed by the gains in the long term.

However, while it may be relatively easy to reduce the inefficient use of resources, it takes much more time to move those resources to new activities. The adjustment itself has economic and social costs, and the longer the process takes, the less is the gain.

The areas of equal pay, Maori development, immigration and the provision of unemployment benefit also provide examples of the complex inter-relationship between social and economic policy. (April Report, Vol II: 357-424.)

5.3 Recommendations

April Report, Vol II: 277-428.

We recommend:

1. The adoption of an integrated and co-ordinated policy approach, with a better and more humane balance between economic and social policy considerations than has occurred in the past. However, overall goals for society must be identified first, so that efficiency and distributional objectives can be specified.
2. The setting up of effective monitoring and feedback systems.
3. The provision of information, including information from the monitoring process, to both policy makers and the public.
4. The encouragement of informed debate and opportunities for the community to take part.
5. The development of structures and methods for policy development within Government which will draw on the insights and evidence of a number of disciplines.

"Our people must have tribal control over our own economic, social and political affairs to retain our cultural identity." (3332)

2.2 Submissions and research

April Report, Vol I: 201-700.

From the submissions, research and other work we commissioned it became clear that New Zealanders value three principles in relation to social wellbeing:

1. **Voice:** to be heard and to have one's views taken into account, to be part of decision-making.
2. **Choice:** active choice based on full information.
3. **Safe prospect:** the ability to plan with reasonable confidence for the future. (April Report, Vol II: 452-454; Vol III, Part One: 363-404.)

These represent a uniquely New Zealand statement of the good society. It is one in which one has a say and a chance to determine one's destiny, where there is opportunity to strike out and express a choice, but where in the end, there is a sense of community responsibility and collective values that provide an environment of security. (April Report, Vol II: 454.)

Over 6000 submissions came both from individuals and from a very wide range of national, community and local organisations, reflecting the views therefore of hundreds of thousands of New Zealanders. These were an important consideration in the preparation of our final overview.

What we heard in submissions was tested against the best data and research studies available to the Commission. Also important were the research projects and papers we commissioned, and our personal research and discussions with many experts.



We brought our findings together under a number of topics central to social policy in New Zealand. These are covered in Chapters 3 to 13 of this publication.

The topics included in this short report are priority areas for action if New Zealand is to achieve a fair and just society. Of major importance, but not included here, are the following topics covered in Volume IV of the April Report.

- └ Personal social services
- └ Energy
- └ The environment
- └ Transport
- └ The media
- └ Recreation and leisure
- └ Immigration policy
- └ Family
- └ Consumer affairs

2.3 New Zealand today

April Report, Vol I: 47-200.

This section provides a brief overview of main trends in New Zealand society.

Population: We have a slowly growing population with an increasing proportion of older people. It stands at 3.3 million in 1988 and is expected to reach 3.8 million by 2011.

Now at 12 percent of the total, the Maori population will grow faster than the total population over the next 25 years.

The Pacific Island population makes up 4 percent, the population of European origin 80 percent, and other ethnic groups including Chinese, Indian and Indo-Chinese the remaining percentage.

Fertility: Fertility has reduced in all ages and ethnic groups to an average of 1.9 births per woman.

Life expectancy (years):	Maori	Non-Maori
Female	71	77
Male	67	71

Age structure: An increasingly low proportion of children contrasts with the higher proportion of aged people. An "old age boom" will begin from 2006 as the post-second world war baby boom generation enters old age.

Migration: Reducing immigration from the British Isles compares with higher migration to and from Australia. Pacific Island Polynesian migration is now significant.

Population centres: Twenty five percent of the population lives in the Auckland area and 74 percent in the North Island. An increasing number of people live in urban areas, with 84 percent living in "urban places" (centres with a population of more than 1000). Pacific Island people are the most urbanised group, with 93 percent in the main urban areas, the majority in Auckland.

Marriage: More young people are remaining unmarried, more marriages are ending in separation and divorce and there are more remarriages.

Households: Overall there are more households, particularly one and two person households and solo parent households. There are fewer nuclear family households. (April Report, Vol I: 48-200.)

The New Zealand economy

Current policy aims at improving the performance of the economy in the face of high inflation, low productivity growth, and a reduction of our standard of living relative to other countries. While the rate of inflation has declined, unemployment has risen and is unlikely to fall in the near future. There has been a greater exposure to overseas competition and investment. The state sector has been substantially reorganised. Agriculture and manufacture have declined. Relative to these sectors, commercial activity and business and professional services have prospered.

New Zealand remains a small, vulnerable economy, which is becoming more oriented in trade and identity to the Pacific rather than the Atlantic area. Our economic policy needs to create a productive structure which is internationally competitive, while at the same time increasing employment opportunities and providing basic social needs. (April Report, Vol II: 634, 636, 639.)

Can we afford better social policy?

The immediate fiscal or budgetary effects of the recommendations in our report need not be large. There would be short-term and long-term savings: for example we recommend national superannuation changes to become fully effective by 2007, which would result in large cuts in expenditure.

While in some areas costs would increase, the very real long-term costs of not recognising as a goal the sort of society envisaged by New Zealanders and described in this report must also be taken into account.

SOCIAL POLICY AND THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

April Report, Vol I: 253-298; Vol II: 25-151; Vol III, Part One: 3-42, 79-280.

Although the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi were listed in the terms of reference as one of the foundations of our society and economy, in fact the Treaty does not have a secure place in New Zealand's statutes and constitutional practices. Inequalities between Maori and non-Maori in work, education, income levels, home ownership and health, reflect a lack of regard for the Treaty in the development of social policies. In the same way, widespread dispossession of land would not have occurred if economic policies had been required to conform to the Treaty.

Against this background we looked at the implications for New Zealand social policy of the Treaty (Maori and English versions). We studied it in the light of submissions, consultation and research.

We hold that the Treaty should be central to New Zealand society – part of the matrix from which all social and economic policy should come.

Status

Maori people have always given the Treaty special status, raising it above purely legal agreements. Since the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal the Treaty has had more influence. The time is now ripe, however, to make the Treaty part of the New Zealand constitution, so that its values and principles are embedded in New Zealand society.

How this is to be done needs to be worked out jointly between the respective partners without delay.

"I believe that the Treaty of Waitangi should be the primary document upon which our nation is built. I do not think it should be part of another document, and any constitution or similar statement should be an outworking of the Treaty. Implicit in these statements must be the renewal of the Maori people as equal partners in the development of New Zealand."
(4737)

3.1 Social policy and the Treaty

The Treaty of Waitangi has implications for partnership, participation and protection, three principles highly relevant to social policy and its objectives.

Partnership

While the partners to the Treaty were originally the Crown and over 500 chiefs representing many but not all tribes, the partners today are not so distinct. In general, they are the state and its agencies on the one hand and Maori authorities, representing tribal members, on the other. For regional matters, the partners should be the relevant local body and the local tribes.

Although the Treaty is about partnership between two main groups it lays the foundation for many cultures by providing the legitimate basis for the presence of all New Zealanders, whatever their ethnic origin. It also clarifies the unique position of Maori people within New Zealand.

Protection

Protection is implied at three levels in the Treaty: the protection of Maori interests by the state; the onus on tribes to protect the wellbeing of the people and families in their tribes; and the solemn undertaking that those who signed would protect the honour of the Treaty.

The Waitangi Tribunal has the job of looking at the Maori people's many grievances. These are due to the Crown's past failures to protect them from encroachment on their lands and other material, social and cultural possessions.

Although in the last ten years both the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts have become the protector of the Treaty, its position is still vulnerable. The spirit of the Treaty was that it should be proactive, a blueprint for the future which should apply to many aspects of New Zealand's development.

In practice court proceedings and the hearings of the Waitangi Tribunal have been about past wrongs. With a backlog of historical breaches to be heard, the proactive nature of the Treaty may be overlooked unless new measures are introduced.

Until such time as the Treaty becomes part of the New Zealand constitution a Treaty of Waitangi Commission should be established, with the job of applying the Treaty to New Zealand's present and future development. It would audit present policy, law and practices from the standpoint of the Treaty, and have independent standing.



Participation

Participation is to do with decision-making, access to social provision, planning, taking responsibility for others, and sharing in the country's resources and wealth.

Maori participation in New Zealand society is low. Maori people believe that it would be greater if they were able to determine their own social and economic policies according to their own values, systems and resources.

Tribal development is a necessary step in that process, but one which should not be compromised by hasty devolution. While some state control and functions should be devolved to tribal and other Maori authorities, the process needs to be carefully planned over time. State agencies must provide resources and be committed to sharing responsibility during and after the change process.

Maori representation is not guaranteed on bodies like hospital or education boards, city councils or university councils. One problem is the way in which individuals are elected or appointed without reference to the appropriate Maori bodies. The "Maori voice" lacks credibility and authority if it does not have the active support and approval of the wider group.

Maori authorities are in the best position to determine Maori representation. This approach, though it may conflict with existing laws and regulations, would be a way of broadening Maori participation in the wider community, and show the unique status that tribes have in their own particular areas.

Other New Zealanders must be able to share in Maori interests. Statutory and voluntary agencies should address Maori issues and make contact with Maori people. Maori authorities could help the process by developing avenues for their participation.

"The key to Maori-Pakeha relationship is the need for us Pakeha to fulfil our obligations under the Treaty, especially in terms of power sharing, that is decision making, sharing at all levels." (4893)

3.2 Conclusions

Past, present and future

The Treaty is timeless. Not only must the past be reviewed in the light of its principles, but the Treaty's promise must also be seen as fundamental to those policies which will underlie economic and social wellbeing in the years to come.

All New Zealanders

The Treaty concerns all people living in New Zealand. It clarifies the position of Maori and provides a secure basis for the presence of all other New Zealanders from whatever ethnic origin.

Social and economic policies

The Treaty always speaks. It is relevant to all policies and services and cannot be confined to particular matters only.

Cultural entitlement

The Treaty requires respect for cultural values in the development of policies and the provision of services.

3.3 Recommendations

1. The Treaty of Waitangi should be entrenched as a constitutional document. Discussions to that end should go ahead with due speed and in accord with the principle of partnership.

2. The Waitangi Tribunal should be helped to undertake its work by receiving:

└ Increased resources

└ Increased status

└ Active involvement by Government in making sure its findings are given effect.

3. A Treaty of Waitangi Commission should be established with terms of reference giving emphasis to the proactive provisions of the Treaty. Until there is a secure place in the constitution for the Treaty, the Commission should audit existing and proposed legislation and the policies and practices of state agencies. It should be set up to recognise the roles of federating Maori organisations, tribal authorities and the principle of partnership.

4. All education agencies should initiate educational programmes about the meaning of the Treaty in New Zealand society past, present and future.

5. Tribal authorities should be encouraged to promote Maori development and self-sufficiency.

6. The devolution of government functions should take place only when there has been enough preparation at tribal, local and central government levels. Allowance should be made for ongoing partnerships.

7. A well-resourced, representative federating Maori organisation should be set up as a matter of urgency.

8. The machinery of Government must be better co-ordinated if it is to respond usefully and efficiently to the needs of Maori development.

9. There must be clear partnership between the state and its agencies on the one hand and Maori authorities representing tribal members, on the other. (April Report, Vol II: 76-80.)

Chapter 4

WOMEN

April Report, Vol II: 153-274, 373-386, 477-597; Vol III, Part One: 281-342; Vol III, Part Two: 27-106.

Our terms of reference state that the equality of men and women is one of the foundations of our society and economy. We found that while women have made a massive contribution to New Zealand life, there is no real equality between men and women in politics, business, paid and unpaid work, family life or community activities.

Women's submissions showed a need for:

- ┆ More power and choice in their lives
- ┆ Recognition for unpaid work
- ┆ Social structures which help in combining paid and unpaid work
- ┆ Acknowledgement of the high cost of caring work to the carers
- ┆ Financial independence.

There are still large gaps between men and women in terms of wellbeing – gaps which in some areas are widening, despite laws which provide for legal equality. Key changes are needed to make New Zealand a more fair and just place for women.

4.1 Women today

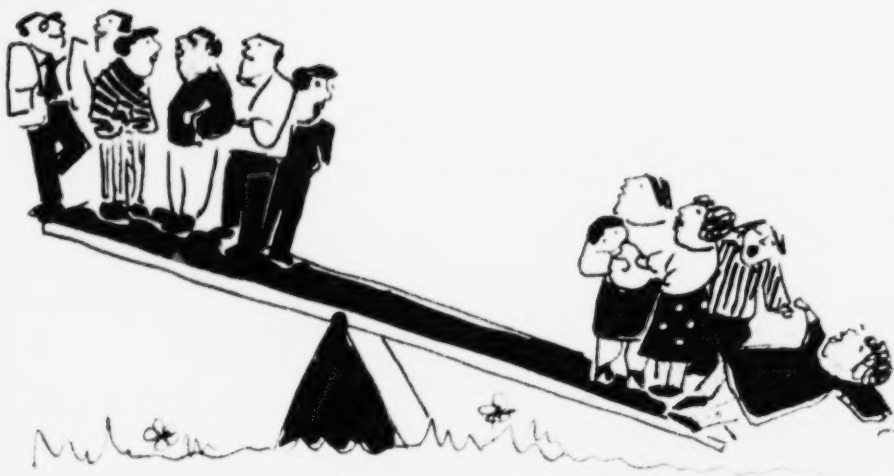
April Report, Vol I: 46-200; Vol II: 199-202, 237-238, 169-174; Vol III, Part One: 281-339.

- ┆ There are many more older women than older men.
- ┆ Women are having fewer children, having them later in life and spending a much shorter time of their adult life in child bearing and child rearing.
- ┆ In 1986, 81 percent of solo parents were women.
- ┆ Women, especially Maori women, are more likely to be unemployed than men.
- ┆ Women have lower incomes than men – two-thirds of women have an income below \$10,000, while two-thirds of men have an income above that.
- ┆ In 1981, 47 percent of Maori women and 25 percent of non-Maori women were totally dependent on social security benefits, compared with 11 percent of Maori men and 6 percent of non-Maori men.
- ┆ Women's rates of disability are higher than those of men.

4.2 Women are disadvantaged

There are three major factors affecting the position of New Zealand women:

1. Women carry an unequal share of responsibility for one essential aspect of social wellbeing – caring for those who are necessarily dependent on others.



2. There are patterns of male behaviour which are clearly harmful to women in particular and to society in general.

3. There is a lack of participation by women in public and private decision-making and resource allocation.

Maori women's economic and social wellbeing is additionally undermined by the loss of land and the weakening of whanau, hapu and iwi structures which has followed the failure to recognise and implement the Treaty of Waitangi.

The costs of caring

Today most women are primarily members of the paid workforce, who take time out for child bearing and child rearing, and other caring work. Even at those times when women are classed as "not in the paid workforce" (when they are financially dependent either on another person, or on some kind of benefit), they are usually still economically active, because they are doing unwaged work in the household and often in the community too.

This unwaged work is not an "optional extra". Society needs it so that all other human activities can take place, particularly so that the next generation can be born and raised. The special feature of this type of unwaged work is that it involves long-term responsibility for another person. This responsibility is constant, particularly when young children are being cared for, involving long hours with little dependable or affordable relief. It is often accompanied by a sense of social isolation.

Despite its importance, there is very little statistical information available about any aspect of unwaged work. It is not included in the assessment of the national product as measured in the national accounts. Economists have suggested that in developed countries this value could be equivalent to at least 30 - 40 percent of the gross national product.

"Stop believing that there is a never-ending supply of women who can be coaxed or bullied into giving up their own lives to the care of the elderly. Do not think that community care is simply a cheap alternative to institutional care."
National Council of Women. (1004)

4.3 Working for wages

In the workforce, women overall are in a position of disadvantage due to the kinds of work they do and the lack of choices and options their work involves.

They are concentrated in low paid jobs with little or no career structure, training or advancement. They are generally considered to be unskilled or semi-skilled, though this may not be an accurate assessment.

Women have always participated in the paid workforce, but this involvement has been limited by their unpaid work responsibilities. The assumption that all women have these responsibilities also works against those who do not.

Through their unpaid work of all kinds, women acquire a wide range of valuable skills and experience, but these are not usually recognised in the labour market. On the contrary, women's unwaged work is likely to be seen as a disadvantage and is frequently used as a justification for inequality in paid employment.

Waged work conditions (such as hours of work) are generally inflexible and allow few opportunities for paid workers to take on unpaid caring work. Men traditionally expect to work for pay, and typically earn a higher income. But their paid employment makes it hard for them to help with caring work, even when they want to.

The outcome of this is that where a couple has dependent children, the female partner usually opts to leave the full-time paid workforce, at least temporarily, to care for a child or children. In cases of other dependants, such as disabled or elderly relatives, women again tend to undertake the caring work, giving up their paid work or fitting part-time work around their care-giving role.

In many cases the resulting financial dependence of the female carer on a male breadwinner works well for all concerned; in others it clearly does not. The carer's income depends not only on what wages are available to be shared, but also on how they are in fact shared.

Because of the difficulties of combining paid and unpaid work, unpartnered women doing unpaid caring work are likely to be financially dependent on the state. In 1981, 70 percent of female solo parents were not in paid employment or were in waged work for less than 20 hours per week.

"The provision of affordable quality childcare is basic for equal opportunity for women in the workplace." (1004)

4.4 Male behaviour

Central to women's concerns for "voice, choice and safe prospect" (April Report, Vol II: 453-454) is the need for each person to have, as far as possible, genuine autonomy, equality of status, and a reasonable measure of control over how they are treated. This need is felt acutely in areas such as health, sexuality and personal safety.

Women as a group still have little autonomy, equality or control in these areas. Sexual abuse and other physical and psychological harm remain a major problem.

In heterosexual relationships, the common expectation has been for women to be responsible for controlling their own and men's sexual behaviour. Yet they have also been expected to be passive and submissive, in contrast to the active, aggressive behaviour expected of men. Images which encourage male aggression and female submission are found not only in pornography, but in a vast range of materials across all media.

Male violence against women is linked with these stereotyped sex roles and images. It is also linked with women's disadvantaged economic position in general and their financial dependence on a male partner in particular. Partly because of the strong belief in family privacy, the true nature and extent of this violence (whether it is rape, domestic violence or incest) has only recently begun to be publicly acknowledged and investigated.

4.5 Participation

Women have little voice or influence in the major decisions that affect them.

Gender should not be the determining factor in whether a person becomes involved in community life, unions, local and central government. In particular, unpaid caring responsibilities in the home should not exclude anyone from taking part in other areas.

Full participation means that women would share equally with men in decision-making and other political processes, as well as in employment and in family and community life.

4.6 Women with disabilities

April Report, Vol II: 166-167, 251-262, 575-576, 591-593; Vol IV: 769-804.

The general issues for women are even more stark for those with disabilities. In particular, for the disabled, securing paid work and achieving financial independence are doubly difficult.

For the people caring for the disabled, the lack of appropriate support is even more of a constraint than it is for those caring for the non-disabled.

People in general understand little about the needs of women and men with disabilities. Anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action programmes in employment; appropriate housing policies; individually assessed income support measures and programmes of disability awareness to increase public understanding are amongst the major policy changes required to improve the position of those with disabilities.

4.7 Lesbians

April Report, Vol II: 167, 263-267, 575-576, 592-593.

Lesbians experience direct and indirect discrimination which prevents them from reaching full economic and personal wellbeing. For example lesbian mothers in child custody cases often feel they are on trial because of their lesbianism rather than as caregivers. Neither lesbians nor gay men in long-term relationships have the same rights as heterosexuals in many areas.

Myths about lesbianism persist and need to be challenged through more accurate information and there is an urgent need to provide legislative protection for lesbians against discrimination.

4.8 Women and social policy

The position of women cannot significantly improve until responsibility for caring work is shared more equally with men. We recommend:

1. Waged work should no longer be rigidly structured in ways which ignore unwaged work. Labour market policies should include parental leave for childbirth and child care and domestic leave for men and women; part-time employment opportunities with the same conditions and safeguards as full-time employment; flexible working hours and affordable, good quality child care services.
2. The value of unwaged work needs to be recognised publicly so that its importance becomes clear to all. This requires the urgent development of adequate measurements of unwaged work, so that planners can take it into account when formulating policy.

3. Women should be given genuine choices which provide the opportunity for them to develop all their capabilities and enable them to meet their needs and the needs of those they care for.

This would require that:

- ┆ Certain currently unpaid work be paid through a carer's allowance.
 - ┆ Such an allowance be combined with comprehensive labour market policies, education and retraining opportunities and above all, with flexible, affordable relieving care.
 - ┆ Legislation provide for equal pay for work of equal value and affirmative action policies.
4. Unwaged caring work should not be a forced choice and carers should:
- ┆ Become financially dependent on others by mutual agreement, rather than necessity.
 - ┆ Have access to the necessary knowledge and appropriate support services and be able to retain full links with the wider community.
5. All policies must take account of family function while catering for varying forms of family.
6. Society as a whole must pay more attention to changing those patterns of male behaviour which are clearly harmful to women in particular and society in general.
7. Structures and processes should be developed which ensure that women participate fully in society. This requires affirmative action programmes and attention to practical matters such as transport, relief for carers and recognition of the real costs incurred, so that participation is not restricted to the well-off.

Significant improvements for women in the past have required active state involvement, and the state's continued action on behalf of women is needed to achieve the changes outlined above.

Maori women

April Report, Vol II: 155-186.

In our paper on Maori Women in the April Report we:

1. Note the importance of the spiritual dimension and Maori Tikanga to Maori women.
2. Endorse the calls of Maori women to be recognised as equal to Maori men and to be represented at all levels of decision making in local and central government, as well as in Maori tribal and other organisations.
3. Recognise the consistent call by Maori women to have the Treaty of Waitangi recognised as the constitutional foundation of New Zealand and to have the principles of the Treaty applied at all levels of government, administrative, social and economic activity.
4. Endorse the recommendation of Maori women that the strengthening and development of whanau, hapu and iwi structures be seen as essential in order to enable whanau to practise greater responsibility for the care and protection of its members and for Maori women to regain their dignity and self-determination. (April Report Vol II, p21, 160-162, 183.)

"Maori women (need) to define their own needs, values, strategies and goals, so as to translate their ideals into reality within and outside the home." Maori Women's Welfare League. (4676)

INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY

April Report, Vol II: 275-446.

Social wellbeing

A very necessary part of social wellbeing is economic – meeting the basic needs for survival. People reach higher levels of wellbeing when they develop to their full potential within society. Economic and social policy are complementary means of enhancing wellbeing.

Economic wellbeing

National income, measured statistically by gross domestic product (GDP) is used to estimate national economic wellbeing. GDP is a limited measure in several ways, including its failure to include non-traded but productive output, such as the worth of unpaid work to the economy. A narrow focus on economic policy tends to oversimplify and leave out the dimension of social wellbeing.

How goods are shared

Distribution is the way material and non-material goods are shared among members of society, through time and place, as well as among individuals. Both social and economic aspects should be looked at before decisions about distribution are made. If economic policy is pursued before social policy, a social choice has already been made to live within the limitations of the economic policy.

5.1 Co-ordinated policy approach

Neither economic policy nor social policy should be developed in isolation from the other. A co-ordinated approach to policy would recognise the importance of both economic and social policy and pursue both at the same time. This would involve assessing all the main public and private benefits and costs arising from a policy shift – such as a change in taxation policy.



THE ROLE OF THE STATE

April Report, Vol II: 780-795; 815-903; Vol III, Part Two: 805-842.

As the ultimate expression of collective responsibility, the state is the major force in achieving a more just society.

6.1 State's key role

Our definition of the state includes all state agencies developed under statute and receiving funds – including central government, regional and local authorities, area health boards, university councils, state-owned enterprises and others.

“Collective responsibility” involves acknowledging that state protection of some agreed standard of social wellbeing is a political right that all members of a community can claim.

Only the state can obtain and enforce minimum standards of care, distribute resources equitably and guarantee that services will be available. The state also has a primary role in forming partnerships with others in carrying out these responsibilities.

Only the state can ensure:

- ┐ A standard of living high enough for everyone to play their full part in the community.
- ┐ Genuine opportunity for everyone to develop their full potential.
- ┐ A fair distribution of the wealth and resources of the nation.

While we believe that the state must continue in its central role in social policy it must change the way it develops policy and carries it out.

There can be no yardstick for measuring performance in the public sector as simple as profit is for the private sector.

6.2 Changes needed

We believe that the following broad changes to the state and its institutions would help to make New Zealand a fairer society:

1. Changes to reflect the partnership concept in the Treaty of Waitangi.
2. Changes to allow for more participation and greater representation from the whole community.
3. Devolution of power, responsibility and resources, so that those who are most affected by decisions share in making them and carrying them out.
4. More open and accessible information and decision making procedures.
5. Effective monitoring and assessment.

We examined various areas of tax preference particularly important in social policy terms. A major conclusion was that, viewed in terms of fairness and efficiency, the argument for taxing capital gains is overwhelming. (April Report, Vol II: 737-739; Vol III, Part Two: 448-454.)

8.3 The social security system

The social security system exists to help people when their earnings from the market are limited. The cost to the taxpayer has risen sharply in the last few years of economic strain.

We found that the social security benefit system has served New Zealand well for 50 years, and should continue to do so, as long as existing arrangements are reviewed and changed to reflect today's social values.

We recommend simplifying and standardising income-tested benefits. Present base levels of benefits should be maintained and regularly adjusted. (April Report, Vol II: 747-748.)

Unit of assessment

Each woman and man should be considered as a separate unit. The individual adult, not the couple as at present, is the fairest unit of assessment both for income maintenance and tax – as it is for income tax and accident compensation.

However, because of the unknown but potentially large cost of change the introduction of an individual entitlement system should be in several stages.

The different rates of benefit paid to couples and single people is a related issue. At present the system assumes that “two can live cheaper than one” only if they are a couple – and a couple receives a benefit worth one sixth less than the benefits received by two single people.

On the other hand a person living alone will have much higher expenses than if sharing accomodation with a number of other adults. The present rate of benefit (60 percent of the married rate) may not be enough. We recommend a standard individual rate of benefit at half the present married couple rate. People living alone should get an additional 20 percent living-alone allowance. Research should be carried out to put the general level of benefits and the size of the living alone allowance on a sound basis.

Overall this would represent a significant reduction in expenditure as many younger people at present receive the full single rate but live in larger households. (April Report, Vol II: 749-751.)

Youth entitlement

To reduce the pressure on teenagers to leave school and home as soon as possible, we recommend income maintenance higher than the present family benefit. This should go to those who are at secondary school (paid to the parents, who generally bear the costs at this stage), in tertiary education or other training.

This could be a “youth allowance” for all young people between about 15 or 18 who are in education or training, followed at age 18 by a standard, taxable but not income-tested grant.

To encourage young people to stay in education or train for a job, an unemployment benefit would not be available up to the age of 18, except to those who had been in full-time employment.

“The costs of complementing an ongoing programme to get these children (street kids) to safety and a future is not only worthwhile financially, but also it is an investment in our future. Our children, all of them, are our country for better or worse.” (4481)

6.3 Encouraging independence

We found no firm evidence that the state's role in social and economic policy saps people's initiative and desire for independence.

We believe that the state's role is to give a chance to everyone of whatever age to lead a fulfilling life. This applies equally to people with disabilities, to those responsible for dependants and irrespective of race, gender, age or location.

At any one time the proportion of people in the population getting state financial support is relatively small. However, at some time in their lives many New Zealanders need the state's support to help them become self-determining, to look after themselves and others.

The changes we recommend, far from increasing dependence, would increase partnership, let more people share power and decision-making and enhance their chances to show initiative and exercise choice in their own destinies.

6.4 Participation and representation

April Report, Vol II: 817-824.

A need for greater participation by New Zealanders in the decisions which shape their lives is a recurring theme in our work.

Participation – giving people the chance to have a say if they wish – is an essential part of effective democracy. Equally important is representativeness – ensuring that the people who influence the decisions truly represent the community. Both are underpinned by transparency, the informing and educating aspect of democracy. Transparency means that it should be clear to people how, when and where decisions which affect them are being made.

In general Maori, ethnic minorities, women, unemployed or underemployed, the elderly, the sick and disabled are the main groups who do not enjoy the benefits of a fair society to the same extent as other New Zealanders. Their situation is closely tied to their lack of opportunity to participate, their less direct involvement in the democratic process and their lack of information and knowledge about how the system operates.

We recognise that creating an effective democracy through better public participation is complex and not easy to achieve. Many people have a feeling of being "over-consulted" in the past, with no visible effect on the decisions being made.

To ensure that public participation is an active and effective part of the decision-making process, it should meet the following criteria:

1. The options for the policy should be laid before the relevant members of the public.
2. The views of the public should be actively sought, valued and taken into account before the decision is made.
3. The public should receive feedback on what decision was made and why.

Education about effective participation is essential, for officials, elected representatives and the public itself. Community participation cannot succeed unless it is underpinned by government structures designed to encourage it and make it part of the regular decision-making processes. At the same time the government must recognise that participation may slow down decision-making.



6.5 Subsidiarity

April Report, Vol II: 771-811.

"No organisation should be bigger than necessary, and nothing should be done by a larger and higher social unit than can be done effectively by a lower and smaller unit." (April Report, Vol II: 806.)

We believe that applying the principle of subsidiarity expressed here would be a means of increasing the voice of those who are at present less represented in decision-making processes. It would also provide a basis for calling to account those with power and authority.

It would require strengthening of the role of groups which are already part of the social structure, such as families, kinship networks and voluntary associations of all kinds. Resources and responsibility would be transferred from the state to the smallest possible group capable of direct care. This would give unpaid caregivers the right to make claims on more powerful agencies.

The voluntary sector

Voluntary groups often increase choice and flexibility by providing services close to the source of demand. Their services are generally cost effective. By involving volunteers they increase participation and are therefore an important part of the democratic process.

A vigorous, independent voluntary sector, sometimes working in partnership with the state, should be recognised and encouraged both by Government and others in the community.

6.6 Information

April Report, Vol II: 821-823, 838-840.

Lack of information has many impacts on social policy. In particular lack of information, largely an outcome of inadequate monitoring, hampers good policy design and prevents people from participating. In the course of our work we found many information gaps.

We support the premise that individuals affected by decisions taken directly or indirectly to achieve changes in their lives should have these rights:

- ┆ To know of those decisions in terms of when, where and how they are being taken.
- ┆ To be informed of the policy and resource issues involved in taking those decisions.
- ┆ To influence the direction of those decisions.

We emphasise the fundamental importance of the principles behind the Official Information Act – that the public's right to information should be safeguarded and enforced, and that the public should have the chance to challenge the quality of information being given to it. We recommend that the provisions of the Act should be promoted widely.

As an important example which affects the lives of all New Zealanders, we raise the issue of the quality of information provided in election manifestos. With national politics dominated by Labour and National, New Zealanders have limited choice in the electoral process. These two parties therefore have a public responsibility to document their policies adequately before election day. The known intentions of the parties must be on public record, so that the elected can later be assessed in terms of their promises and their actual achievements.

At the level of delivery of social services, information is an important part of choice. People are not free to choose between options if they have limited knowledge of what is available. Some people cannot approach those providing services and negotiate for what they need. We therefore support the concept of a nationwide information and advocacy service dealing with the full range of social provision.

We believe that all government departments in the social policy area should be responsible for assessing and monitoring their policies, and for incorporating findings into policy development and review.

We support the roles of the Government Statistician and the New Zealand Planning Council in providing information for monitoring social policies.

6.7 Power sharing

April Report, Vol II: 843-847.

The sharing of power requires the transfer of responsibility, authority and resources from an arm of Government to less centralised bodies, so that particular functions can be carried out in a relevant, responsible and cost effective way.

Families, communities, religious and voluntary organisations, the private sector, and Maori organisations must be recognised as partners with the state in the development of policy as well as the provision of services.

Power-sharing will require a major re-orientation on the part of those who now hold power and those who will become empowered. At present resources and decision-making are concentrated in the hands of central Government. Potentially, devolution could empower the whole community, reflecting the linkages between social, cultural and economic issues at the local level far better than the compartmentalised central government structure.

We believe, however, that devolution is only one method of power-sharing, and others should be tested.

Power sharing between the state and the community is a continuous process and will not be achieved by a single action.

6.8 The Maori view

April Report, Vol II: 788-790, 848-856.

We heard many submissions from marae calling for greater Maori participation and a chance for Maori to develop policies in their own way. All policy must take into account the qualities considered crucial to Maori wellbeing: mana (authority and control), manakitanga (caring and sharing), and kotahitanga (unity).

Effective power-sharing will need to recognise the differences in the Maori and non-Maori approaches to decision-making. While the criteria of participation, transparency and representativeness apply to Maori society as to non-Maori, there will be a different understanding and application of the themes.

The tangata whenua tribe(s) of each area, for example, will be the basis for participation and representation.

Information channels may need further development.

Opportunity to obtain consensus from the wider group is a necessary part of policy development.

The elders, or kaumatua, of each tribe should be involved in policy making. Maori processes will be seriously undermined if time constraints limit wide discussion, kaumatua endorsement, or hapu consultation.

We acknowledge the potential value of iwi development, the strengthening of tribal and other organisations so that they can play larger roles in the social and economic wellbeing of their members.

"The kaumatuas hold the key to many things, language, culture, history, traditions, all the ingredients that enable them to empower the penultimate group who will stand in their place when they pass on."
Aotea District Maori Council. (3339)

6.9 Co-ordination

April Report, Vol II: 799, 808-809, 842, 857-865.

As power and decision-making move into the hands of smaller, more locally-oriented groups, there will be even greater need for clear direction and co-ordination of social policy and social provision.

During this study our attention was drawn to a lack of co-ordination both in policy and provision. State agencies tend to function independently of each other and other organisations even when they are dealing with the same areas. This creates both overlaps and gaps.

Policy co-ordination

At present the formal integration of social policy happens only at cabinet level and to a limited extent within Treasury. We see a clear need for a permanent group whose specific task is to co-ordinate social policy in an informed and expert manner.

Co-ordination could be achieved through the merging of social departments such as social welfare and health; giving a co-ordinating role to one of the control departments, such as Treasury or the State Services Commission; or through a new co-ordinating agency. We recommend these options for more detailed study.

6.10 Assessment and monitoring

April Report, Vol II: 868, 887-901.

We found that New Zealanders lack information which they can use to assess both the state of society and the effectiveness of policies introduced to improve society. This makes for inefficient public policy.

All too often, the effectiveness of major social services is measured by volume rather than by quality, and social goals are left unstated. Even when they are stated, they are seldom monitored on a regular basis. Policies are often introduced without enough information for public scrutiny and with few signs that the policy makers have understood all the indirect impacts.

Inadequate monitoring of government programmes has hampered good social policy by lessening the accountability of politicians, policy makers and programme managers.

Specific recommendations for better information for the development and assessment of good social policy and programmes are:

1. For public sector programmes, measures of the cost, quality and quantity of services and their relevance to needs, to be published regularly.
2. Five yearly surveys of social indicators to begin now, to augment existing household surveys.
3. Further development of surveys to obtain information on labour market composition, including information on unpaid as well as paid work.
4. A periodic national survey of time use, to assess how people allocate their time to various social and economic activities such as paid work, unpaid work, recreation, family and household duties.
5. A five-yearly measurement of the distribution of wealth, plus improvements to existing income statistics so that analysis of tax and transfer policies can be made publicly available.
6. Objective measures of poverty, to be published regularly.
7. Improved information and assessment procedures in areas affecting Maori development.
8. That the role of the Controller and Auditor General should be extended in order to monitor the overall effectiveness of policies and programmes.

WORK

April Report, Vol II: 475-597; Vol III, Part One: 499-772.

Work, both paid and unpaid is central to the wellbeing of New Zealanders. How work is distributed, the conditions under which it is performed and the significance attached to it have an impact on every other aspect of social policy.

Our investigations satisfied us that the primary instrument for achieving a fairer society must be economic and social policies designed to provide wide employment opportunities.

Sources used included submissions from the general public and specialist groups; a research programme including extensive overseas material; consultation and discussion with expert groups; and a number of specially commissioned papers.

As a priority we focused on issues relating to the distribution of work.

7.1 Economic policy

Current economic policy aims to improve the performance of the New Zealand economy in the face of high inflation, low productivity growth and a reduction in our standard of living, relative to other countries. The policy has concentrated on reducing inflation. The effect of this has been to reduce output and increase unemployment in the short to medium-term. A stronger use of fiscal policy to reduce inflation would have shared the costs more evenly across the economy.

There are compelling economic and social reasons for designing policies which minimise the adjustment costs, especially in those areas which are hardest hit. (April Report, Vol II: 511.)

7.2 Wage flexibility

Policies to increase wage flexibility would give employers greater freedom to vary the wages that they pay workers. The economic argument that greater wage flexibility would improve economic performance, enhance productivity and reduce unemployment has led to calls to reduce pay rates in some regions and some occupations, to cut out the national minimum wage and remove the blanket coverage provisions of the Labour Relations Act. It is also used as an argument against the concept of equal pay for work of equal value.

Research shows that there are a number of economic reasons for doubting the effectiveness of wage flexibility policies as a means of solving labour market problems. This applies to policies for the regions as well as urban areas. (April Report, Vol II: 511-523; Vol III, Part One: 535-562, 659-690.)

The social policy arguments against wage flexibility policies are equally strong. Making the labour market more "competitive" by weakening the award structure or cutting out the minimum wage would affect mainly the secondary, unskilled labour market – lowering the pay of the already lowest paid workers.

The arguments are also strong against the creation of low-paid jobs on the basis that they give workers a chance to get into the labour market and acquire new skills. A history of casual, low-waged employment does not necessarily help a worker get a better job.

Workers have the right to a sustaining wage. The labour market is a means of equitable income distribution for which there is no substitute. The evidence (outlined fully in the April Report) adds up to a convincing case that abolishing the minimum wage would not have a significant effect on creating employment or reducing unemployment.

Full employment must rank alongside and at least equal with low inflation and economic growth as one of the key objectives of all policy. Within the framework of economic policies which have full employment as a primary objective there will still be a need for a range of active labour market policies. However, unless there is an appropriate economic framework, no amount of change to the labour market will provide sustainable employment growth. (April Report, Vol II: 523.)

7.3 New Zealand approach

April Report, Vol II: 531-532.

Other countries have succeeded in balancing social and economic goals, and there is no reason why New Zealand should not do the same. But there is no one route to success – different countries have achieved low unemployment and economic growth in different ways. New Zealand's policies must reflect its own cultural values and fit in with its own institutional structures.

Learning from the successes and failures of other countries, the following mix of elements would help secure lower unemployment and adequate economic growth in New Zealand:

- ┆ A clear government commitment to achieving and maintaining full employment.
- ┆ A commitment not to use high unemployment or increasing levels of unemployment to obtain other policy objectives.
- ┆ A social contract where wage bargaining takes place in a structure which enables wage settlements to be reached which are appropriate to the economy.
- ┆ A mix of active labour market policies continued into the long-term.

"The opportunity to work and earn an income is fundamental to individual and social goals. The market in which labour services are offered and employed is crucial to the operation of the economy and to objectives of social justice." NZ Business Roundtable Submission on 'Industrial Relations a Framework for Review' 1986.



7.4 Paid and unpaid work

April Report, Vol II: 533-545.

Work provides goods and services to the community as a whole and is for most people a means to make a living. Many of the services people provide are not paid for, however, and fall outside the market economy and the labour market.

At present the structure of the labour market makes it difficult to combine paid with unpaid work, especially the work of caring for others. This reduces both the paid and unpaid productive capacity of the community.

An integrated policy on work (paid and unpaid, in the household, the community and the market) would be fairer to all workers in acknowledging and rewarding the necessity of unpaid as well as paid work to society and the economy.

7.5 Active labour market policies

April Report, Vol II: 546-574; Vol III, Part One: 691-772.

The importance of full employment as a foundation for all other social policies means the goal of attaining full employment cannot be deferred indefinitely. Policies must be introduced that will have an immediate impact on the availability of paid work. Such policies cover a category termed active labour market policies.

These include training assistance, skill development, mobility grants, vocational guidance, job vacancy information and placement services, encouraging community initiatives to generate jobs and employment creation programmes funded at least in part by the state.

New Zealand has a tradition of active labour market measures to improve peoples' employment prospects. But since 1985 the amount spent on employment and training programmes has declined by 25 percent in real terms. Now more is spent on the unemployment benefit. We believe that more resources should be committed to the development of active labour market policies: to positive rather than negative responses to unemployment.

Active labour market policies could reduce the costs of unemployment to the economy and society and lead to a higher rate of growth in output, incomes and employment. They should also help to secure the success of other social policies.

Unemployment has many causes, and many complementary measures will be needed to address them. Overall, labour market policies and programmes should be part of an integrated policy on work, and should be responsive to the needs of workers with responsibilities outside the paid workforce.

The unemployment benefit

April Report, Vol II: 417-424, 748; Vol III, Part Two: 457-532.

As well as being a form of income maintenance the unemployment benefit is also a "search allowance". It gives financial support while people look for a satisfactory job.

The evidence shows that variations in the amount of benefit or the length of time it is paid do not lead to much change in the work behaviour of a large number of people, including young people. We do not support proposals to lower the unemployment benefit because of its supposed disincentive effects. In the Report we recommend that the employment benefit be paid at the same level as sickness and similar benefits.

"The advocacy for free market philosophy may appeal to the purist, but means little to the unemployed. Policy formation must accord a higher priority to work formation, even if this means an element of intervention in other areas."
The Auckland Manufacturers Association. (4774)

Workfare

Careful analysis of "workfare" schemes suggests that it is both costly and hard to implement schemes which require all unemployment beneficiaries to work for their benefits. A mix of active labour market policies such as training, placement assistance and targeted employment subsidies appears to be a better way to help the young or long-term unemployed to find work.

At the same time, there is a strong case for giving unemployed people chances to undertake voluntary unpaid community work while they continue to look for paid work. This could be done through the Employment and Vocational Guidance service of the Labour Department holding a register of part-time voluntary work opportunities provided by community organisations.

Changes to the employment contract

Rationalisation mergers, takeovers, privatisation of state-owned enterprises, corporatisation, technological change and bankruptcies have made the present provisions for employee job security inadequate. The overall effect is increased instability in employment, as well as broader negative social and economic effects. There is an urgent need for legislation giving adequate minimum provision for job security.

This legislation should be developed after consultation with employers, unions and other interested groups. Similar difficulties arise with the lack of effective legislation to ensure the comprehensiveness of superannuation schemes, portability, and early vesting of superannuation contributions.

7.6 Elimination of inequalities

April Report, Vol II: 575-593.

Inequalities affect employment opportunities for groups such as Maori people, women, Pacific Island people, people with disabilities, lesbians, gay men and the aged. The Commission is emphatic that all discrimination in the labour market must be eliminated. Amendments to the Human Rights Commission Act should be made to outlaw discrimination against people with disabilities, lesbians, gay men and the aged.

Inequalities between men and women

The large and persistent gap between male and female rates of pay is the outcome of many forms of direct and indirect discrimination experienced by women in the workforce. Measures to address discrimination are of two kinds: equal opportunity policies, and equal pay for work of equal value, or comparable worth.

Equal opportunity policies aim to improve women's position through education and training, parental leave provisions, flexible working hours and efforts to improve the selection and promotion of women within firms and enterprises. Comparable worth policies are measures which require women to be paid the same as men when performing a job which is assessed as being of "equal value". That is, where the work needs much the same knowledge and skills or is similar in mental demands, responsibility and working conditions. Both kinds of measures are needed to address inequalities in the labour market. To ensure the success of these policies, legislation is required.

"Given a belief that we reward with wages as an accepted socially perceived value of work, the wages women receive not only affects their economic position, but affects their status, confidence and self worth."
Clerical Workers Union. (3278)

Implementing comparable worth policies poses practical difficulties to do with job evaluation. We propose the development of an uncomplicated system that can be used in collective bargaining between employers and unions, and evaluation systems that cover groups of workers, not individuals. The early development of these practical measures, including legislation, is needed to implement equal pay for work of equal value.

Other reforms needed for greater equality in the labour market are:

- └ Development of part-time work opportunities, with employees being entitled to standard conditions of employment on a pro-rata basis.
- └ Better parental and domestic leave provisions, including a carer's allowance and changes to the Parental Leave and Employment Act.
- └ Provision for tangihanga leave.
- └ Greater flexibility in work schedules.
- └ Access to affordable, adequate and convenient child care.
- └ Provisions to deal with sexual harassment.

(April Report, Vol II: 585.)

7.7 Major conclusions and recommendations

There are 47 specific recommendations in the section on work in the April Report, Vol II: 475-597.

Relationship between paid and unpaid work

Waged and unwaged work are interdependent and do not take place in isolation from each other. The way paid and unpaid work is distributed throughout the community is critical to the development of a social policy which is not only fair and just, but also efficient and economical.

Recommendations:

- └ Adequate measurements of unpaid work should be developed, so that it can be taken into account in the formulation of policy.
- └ Certain work which is currently unpaid should be paid (carer's allowance).
- └ The state should be responsible for ensuring that the labour market operates in a way that enables people to combine paid and unpaid work. This would require the formulation of an integrated policy on work. A more efficient use of the total productive capacity of the community, both paid and unpaid, would result.

(April Report, Vol II: 544-545.)

Employment

Paid work provides incomes, contributes to people's sense of worth, and is crucial to the success of other social policies. High unemployment undermines society's framework and can lead to a breakdown in community standards.

The primary instrument for achieving a fairer society must be economic and social policies designed to provide wide employment opportunities. As economic policies are significant in determining the extent, range and distribution of employment, New Zealand needs a good balance between economic and social policy.

Recommendations:

- ┌ Full employment must rank alongside and at least equal with low inflation and economic growth as the key objective of all policy. (April Report, Vol II: 481.)
- ┌ Policies should be implemented that will have an immediate impact on the availability of paid work. (April Report, Vol II: 548.)
- ┌ With full employment as a primary objective, a varied range of labour market policies is required. (April Report, Vol II: 546-574.)

Elimination of inequalities**Recommendations:**

- ┌ Given the importance of employment to personal and social wellbeing, all discrimination in the labour market must be eliminated. Special measures must be put in place for Maori people, women, Pacific Island people, lesbians, gay men and the aged.
- ┌ The Human Rights Commission Act should be amended to outlaw discrimination in employment on the grounds of disability, sexual identity and age.
- ┌ Legislation and other means should provide for equal pay for work of equal value and equal opportunity programmes. The principles embodied in equal opportunity legislation should apply to all groups, and should facilitate the combination of paid and unpaid work. (April Report, Vol II: 575-593.)

INCOME MAINTENANCE AND TAXATION

April Report, Vol II: 725-771; Vol III, Part Two: 407-651.

New Zealanders generally accept that the state is the only effective manager of the risk all people face of not being able to support themselves when age, caring duties, sickness, injury or unemployment take them out of the paid workforce. Benefits and pensions are paid to people in such circumstances through taxation.

Employment policies the key

The key to a fair and just society is wide employment opportunities. The present system, evolved in an era of full employment, does not cope with widespread and persistent unemployment. A combined income maintenance and labour market policy is needed. It should build on economic and social policies aimed at widening employment opportunities.

8.1 Income support part of overall measures

Though fair distribution of wealth is one of the standards of a fair and just society, redistributing income alone is not enough. It must be looked at along with funding of access to health, housing, education and other social services. The quality of access to these services contributes to people's wellbeing.

Objectives, principles and criteria for income support

We arrived at these after studying New Zealand's history, values, the present income support and tax system, the submissions we received and the expertise available to us. They relate to all forms of social provision as well as to income maintenance.



Objectives

1. To ensure that all New Zealanders have access to a sufficient share of income and other resources to allow them to participate in society with genuine opportunity to achieve their potential and to live fulfilling lives. In so doing to provide a measure of certainty and security throughout their lives.
2. To relieve immediate need arising through unforeseen circumstances.
3. To ensure the wellbeing and healthy development of all children.

Principles designed to achieve the objectives:

- ┆ Community responsibility
- ┆ Individual responsibility
- ┆ Dignity
- ┆ Equality of treatment
- ┆ Progressivity
- ┆ Cultural diversity
- ┆ Fiscal responsibility
- ┆ Flexibility
- ┆ Transparency

Criteria

When principles conflict and choices have to be made, the whole system should conform as far as possible with the criteria of equity, efficiency and simplicity. If major change has to be made, the change process should be fair and orderly.

While some policies may equally serve the objectives of equity and efficiency, others will involve a trade-off or balance depending on the particular circumstances.

Eligibility for income support

Who should be eligible for support, and how much should they get? At present there are three different approaches to the question of "how much?". Accident compensation offers an earnings-related approach, family benefit offers a universal approach and most other benefits are based on a targeted or selective approach defined by income testing.

We favour the continuation of the present "categorical" approach: those who have an accident get accident compensation, those who reach 60 get superannuation and those who cannot find a job get unemployment benefits.

We see this as a lifecycle framework which helps everyone at some stage of their lives. Indirectly everyone has the benefit of knowing provisions are there when they need them. (April Report, Vol II: 741-743.)

8.2 Tax policy

The ways in which taxes are raised (for example on income or expenditure) and spent (for example on national superannuation, social welfare benefits, health and education) are social policy concerns. They should be assessed in terms of the standard criteria of efficiency and fairness (equity). Any exclusion from the comprehensive tax base and any concessions, preferences or subsidies provided through the tax system need to be justified applying those standards.

In the long-term, the age of entry to the work-force should be 18, with those under 18 staying in the education system or some kind of on-the-job-training. This would require more investment in secondary and tertiary education and other training facilities. (April Report, Vol II: 751-752.)

8.4 Families with children

Family benefit

We recommend retaining the universal family benefit, as part of a flexible set of income support arrangements for families with children. We recommend a modest increase in the benefit, together with indexing. Submissions to the Commission and the attitudinal survey strongly endorse the vital role the family benefit continues to play in supporting families and distributing income to them in a simple, effective manner.

Carer's allowance

There is a strong case for a carer's allowance, though its form, criteria and level need wide discussion and research. The domestic purposes benefit should be merged with the widow's benefit and renamed the carer's allowance, to reflect its true function.

As economic conditions allow, the family benefit and the carer's allowance should become the means of delivering income support to families, replacing family support and guaranteed minimum family income. (April Report, Vol II: 755-756.)

8.5 Sick, injured and disabled people

We recommend changing the approaches to accident compensation and sickness and disability. There is no justification for the stark difference between the treatment of the injured (who receive relatively generous earnings-related benefits if in paid work) and the treatment of the sick and disabled (who get generally lower levels of income-tested benefits). As an additional injustice the injured have priority access to health care, compared with the sick and disabled.



Accident compensation

The scheme in its present form uses too many resources in helping those with minor injuries. The "pause" period before compensation is paid should be extended from one to four weeks. People injured in work accidents should get payments during the pause period from the employer rather than from ACC.

Earners in non-work accidents should get a flat-rate benefit after the first week, either at the current sickness benefit level or at the current lowest accident compensation level.

Earnings-related compensation

Earnings-related compensation should not continue indefinitely, but be succeeded after two years by a reasonable flat-rate benefit, plus disability allowance, for the time that normal work is prevented or reduced.

Earners and non-earners should be able to get assistance in meeting the costs of care resulting from incapacity (for example nursing home care or child care) if deemed medically necessary.

Lump sum payments

A "loss-of-function" disability allowance payable periodically should replace the current lump-sum provisions. For non-economic loss, treatment costs, counselling and other services should continue to be provided.

Private and state health services

Accident compensation has expanded the use of private hospitals and private health care, while the sick and disabled are treated by state health services. These distortions should be addressed.

Reducing the gap

The changes already suggested would help narrow the gap between the two groups. Though it would not be financially possible immediately to begin treating accident and illness victims the same, it should be possible to bring in equal access to treatment for all who are incapacitated, for whatever reason.

We urge early action, by improving the position of people with serious and long-term disabilities. Eventually the disabled, whether outside or inside accident compensation should enjoy parallel disability allowances. An extended scheme for support of the long-term sick and disabled should have the same broad structure as that outlined for accident compensation.

The changes should be carried out in three stages, with each stage needing detailed research and costings.

Stage 1

- Increase the disability allowance to a real value of at least the 1975 level. Remove the income test and review its administration with the objective of moving towards an "as of right" basis.
- Set the entitlement to invalids' benefits on an individual, not joint income basis.

Stage 2

- ┘ Income-test the sickness benefit also on an individual rather than joint basis.
- ┘ Carry out recommended changes to the accident compensation scheme. These would include replacing earnings-related payments after two years with an enhanced flat-rate invalids' and accident victims' benefit, and a disability allowance for absence of function. Lump sum payments would cease.
- ┘ Move towards providing more uniform assistance to the long-term disabled for their extra costs. Integrate the recommended disability allowance for absence of function with the present disability allowance.
- ┘ Integrate the present invalids' benefit with the proposed, more generous, invalid and accident victims' benefit.

Stage 3

Extend the modified accident compensation scheme to cover all serious sickness, keeping coverage to those most needing assistance. (April Report, Vol II: 757-763.)

8.6 Elderly people

New Zealand's present depressed economic position combined with predictions of increases in the elderly population have made many people question whether the national superannuation scheme is still affordable.



Age of retirement

The expectation that most people will leave school at 15 or 16 and at the other end retire about 60 is wasteful, in social, economic and human terms. A disenchanted under-class of young people at one end is matched by the loss of many active and experienced people from the work-force at the other.

The goal should be to move workforce participation forward to start about age 18, and end it at about the mid 60s. Our income maintenance policies will then support the development of an effectively trained and adaptable workforce and recognise the capacity of those in their sixties to continue to participate in work, whether paid or unpaid.

There is a strong case for keeping some universal component in national superannuation. We recommend a two-tier system which is a combination of income-tested superannuation, and universal superannuation at a later age and lower rate, to be introduced over an extended period (1995-2007). Without this the incentive for personal provision for retirement income is limited to those in much higher incomes.

1. Tier 1 is for those aged 65 and over. The allowance would be income-tested and abated against other income, as with social security benefits. The individual would be the unit of assessment. For those living alone an additional allowance would equal at least 20 percent of the basic rate.

2. Tier 2 would provide universal superannuation for all those aged 68 and over, and would amount to half the rate of tier 1. At age 68 people would receive and be taxed on the same amount, but it would be abated only to half its value – so all would get half the superannuation benefit as a minimum, but those with little other income would get up to the first tier benefit level.

- ┐ Frail elderly people with additional living expenses should be looked after through providing better social services, rather than an extra pension entitlement.
- ┐ New Zealanders who wish to spend their old age in other countries where there are no reciprocal agreements should get a pension at a reduced rate of 50 percent of the gross benefit at age 65.
- ┐ We do not favour the tax deductibility of superannuation contributions, but believe there are greater benefits in a simpler and fairer tax system. (April Report, Vol II: 767-769.)

"There must be a secure economic base that allows elderly people to control their own lifestyle. Old age and retirement need to be seen as not just a time of non-work but rather as something more positive that will help retain identity, self-esteem and purpose. There should be a continuing role in society for the elderly which leaves choice and control of resources and services whenever possible in the hands of the elderly themselves." Age Concern, Wellington. (4439)

FUNDING AND PROVIDING SOCIAL SERVICES

April Report, Vol II: 655-724, 771-812.

Social policy involves decisions about who funds and provides services essential to our social structure.

In economic terms, the decisions are to do with the most efficient use of resources. Social policy, like all other policy, should place a high value on efficiency and economy in the use of scarce resources.

New Zealand has a mixed economy. Goods and services are produced by the private market sector, the state sector, co-operative activity, community support networks, family and household units.

The Government may directly provide some goods and services, or it may work within the market framework to increase consumer purchasing power by adjusting prices and incomes through subsidies, tax and benefits. Particularly in the area of social services, the Government intervenes in the market to achieve efficiency (for example in the control of contagious diseases such as AIDS) and equity – ensuring a more fair distribution of income and essential services.

Following extensive consultation and study, the Commission has firmly concluded that the Government must continue to be involved in the funding and provision of social services. Only the state can guarantee an equitable distribution of services and can ensure that the best use is made of resources.

9.1 Funding

April Report, Vol II: 655-724.

In New Zealand social programmes are funded through taxation, private funding, various forms of insurance, voluntary organisations and family and community networks.

While the private sector and voluntary groups are important, the Government is the dominant funder. The Government will spend an estimated \$14,000 million on social services, education and health in 1987-88, nearly 58 percent of its total expenditure. The main source of its funds is tax.

Taxation

While New Zealanders tend to think of themselves as highly taxed, in comparison with other OECD countries we have a relatively low overall rate of tax as a proportion of GDP. There is little evidence to show that any particular level of government expenditure as a proportion of GDP has been detrimental to economic performance.

Benefits or direct provision?

There is an argument in favour of redistributing the money which would be spent on social services in the form of cash incomes, so that consumers can make their own market choices in health, education, housing and other areas of social provision. The present system is a mixture of cash transfers (such as welfare benefits) and direct provision (such as education and health care).

On the evidence we believe that some essential social services should be provided directly. These include certain health, education, early childhood and housing services. Each of these is fundamental to a social structure which gives all its members the opportunity to live a reasonably fulfilling and enjoyable life. We believe that people have a right to a certain standard of health care, housing and education. The cash equivalent is no guarantee that this standard will be provided.

Private funding: insurance

Many New Zealanders take steps to provide for their own future wellbeing through various forms of insurance – particularly health insurance and retirement schemes. That does not relieve the state of its obligations to all citizens including those who are uninsurable or not able to insure themselves.

While private plans will continue to play an important role in providing retirement income, we recommend keeping some universal component in superannuation (see pp 42,43).

For reasons of efficiency and equity we believe that the state should remain the major partner in providing health and hospital care and retirement income. Improvements to the present system would greatly reduce the need for private insurance.

9.2 Provision

April Report, Vol II: 771-812.

The providers of social services are the state, personal resources, families, community, religious organisations, voluntary agencies, the private sector and Maori delivery systems.

The state

We support the central role of the state in provision – to keep an overview, and ensure that resources are distributed equitably and used efficiently. At the same time other channels must be encouraged through various forms of partnership with the state.

The state as a partner should ensure that sufficient services are provided so that everyone can enjoy a certain level of wellbeing. This role involves the direct provision of services, the allocation of resources, setting standards, regulations and overall planning, co-ordination and monitoring.

The voluntary sector

Religious and voluntary organisations, families and communities extend the services provided by the state, often in an experimental way and by working in particular areas of need.

In some areas the state should consider contracting out by providing agencies with money for a task, requesting accountability and ensuring that the services are delivered.

Maori delivery systems

The developing area of Maori delivery systems is promising and warrants state support (see pp 14-17, 29). It requires partnership with local and central government and opportunities for the forging of practical links between tribal members who live in different parts of the country.

"Further steps will need to be taken than just the integration and co-ordination of the health services. Somehow we need to restructure the social services in such a way that all parts of society work together for the promotion of a healthy lifestyle and safer environment, before the goal of healthy nation can be achieved."
(2814)

Principles for delivery

From a study of the concerns people had in their different experiences of social provision we established a framework of principles for guiding those who develop services. They are:

- ┆ Choice
- ┆ Adaptability and flexibility
- ┆ Co-ordination
- ┆ Accountability

Social services developed according to these principles should meet the needs of people, and not be concerned primarily with organisations, structure or process.

9.3 Health

April Report, Vol I: 365-367; Vol IV: 5-9, 41-88.

Many New Zealanders do not enjoy their basic right to good health. Some ill health is due to individual actions, but social, cultural, environmental, industrial and economic factors outside individual control also play their part.

To some extent, the inequities have been recognised and have begun to be addressed. In 1988, social policy in health is in transition. The Department of Health is in the process of becoming a ministry, which will devolve all its service functions to the new area health boards.

Funding

Health services are at present funded by a mixed system, with the state sometimes the main provider (secondary care including hospitals) and sometimes providing a top-up to mainly private funding (primary care including general practitioner services).

In practice this has meant that over the last 50 years an ever larger proportion of public funds has been going to public hospitals and correspondingly less to any other sort of health care. The problem is how to curb the escalating costs, particularly of hospitals and pharmaceuticals, and at the same time move the system from a focus on disease and illness to a focus on whole health.



We endorse the need for more effective management of health resources through improved management, relevant information systems and greater attention to quality control within public hospitals.

Limited funds should be allocated fairly. Any rationing should be spread across society, and not fall too heavily on those who cannot afford to pay extra for private services. These will continue to give choice and convenience to those who can afford them, but their provision should not undermine the services offered by the state. We note the anomalies created in this area under the existing accident compensation arrangements (see pp 41, 42).

We believe that the development of area health boards should provide a framework to bring together funders, providers and users in a more efficient relationship than exists at present. The boards' involvement in the full range of primary services, following appropriate legislative change, could help solve some of the equity problems inherent in the present system. These include the high user payment for GP services and the present variable rate of subsidy across primary health care services.

Provision

Participation

We believe that good health for all New Zealanders requires their active participation in health policy and health services. The consumer's voice has been left out of decision-making at clinical and administrative levels, and too often is only heard when dissatisfaction becomes intolerable or coincides with political expediency. Women, although the main providers and consumers of health care, are sparsely represented at decision-making level in the health system.

Given the unacceptable status of Maori health, better and more appropriate provision of health services and care for Maori people is a priority which all health agencies must address. Legislation should guarantee Maori participation in health policy formation and delivery.

We do not support large regional health authorities proposed in the Report of the Hospital and Related Services Taskforce (1988), because they would reduce opportunity for active and effective participation in planning and decision making.

Co-ordination and integration

We are concerned about the gaps between the various providers of health services – between central government and local health authorities; primary and secondary health care; voluntary and statutory provision; institution and community; public and private; mental and physical health; health and other social services.

Better co-ordination could be an outcome of the area health board structure, provided the strategies of boards are integrated with those of other local authorities and community groups. The focus of all services should be on the needs of people, not on those of administrators, health professionals or large institutions.

"Access is the prime health need. All health care must be accessible and barriers such as finance, social status and geographical isolation must be minimised. Too many people, because of such barriers and despite current subsidies, do not have good access to health care." Cook Hospital Board. (778)

Health promotion and protection

We see a major role for the state in shifting the emphasis from treating sickness to promoting health. An example is AIDS and its relationship to safe sexual practices. We endorse the arguments for a national alcohol policy. We draw attention to major improvements in the dental health of New Zealanders over one generation, thanks to an integrated effort by health professionals, schools, local authorities, the state and parents.

Although health promotion and protection will not bring down the short-term demand for services, we believe that the long-term benefits are self-evident and should be recognised by an increasing budget allocation.

9.4 Education

April Report, Vol III, Part Two: 171-406; Vol IV: 9-12, 115-148.

Funding

Like health, education policy is in transition. There is no question as to the widespread public acceptance of the state as the main funder of education in New Zealand. There are questions as to how the funds should be spent. Should the funds go to the consumers of education (parents and children) or to the providers? And to what extent should the state be a direct provider of services, as well as a funder?

We reject the concept of any form of voucher entitlements for education. All the evidence shows that this system would tend to make access more unequal and to increase quality differences within education.

There is no case for the general extension of public funds to private institutions. Where private institutions have developed because of a difference in educational methods, or in response to special needs (eg Rudolf Steiner and Kaupapa Maori schools) there is a case for them, if they wish, to be brought into a more diversified public system.

We support adequate funding for good quality early childhood education.

We see a need to increase the standard tertiary allowance and possibly extend it to senior secondary school students. However we see no need to shift from the present methods of funding tertiary education.



Provision

The objectives of educational policy and the basis for evaluating it at all levels of provision should be fairness of access, quality and content.

The themes of participation and partnership are as relevant to education as they are to health. We would support measures at both national and local levels to incorporate different perspectives into decision-making and to foster a co-operative, participatory approach.

Priority areas:

- └ Maori education
- └ Early childhood education
- └ Provision for rural communities
- └ Encouragement for students to stay at school or in training beyond 15 years.

We believe that national standards should be set for secondary schooling, with a goal of at least 90 percent of students achieving those standards by the end of their secondary schooling.

The necessary steps to achieve appropriate standards include the removal of School Certificate, the development of a more integrated curriculum, a more co-operative approach to the organisation and administration of educational institutions and the recognition of the importance of good quality teaching.

We recommend the adoption of an integrated youth programme which would provide education, training or employment opportunities for all young people between the ages of 15 and 21, along with income support measures (see pp 39, 40).

Maori education

A range of measures of participation and attainment shows that Maori people as a whole do not get the amount or quality of education which they need for their future wellbeing. As well, the education system does not provide them with knowledge of their own language or tikanga (customs and culture).

We believe that existing education structures must be changed so that Maori people have control over their own education and so that all other New Zealanders have the opportunity to value and to develop knowledge and understanding of Maori language and tikanga.

"The problem is not what is it about the Maori people that makes them fail in education, but what is it about the education system that excludes Maori and Pacific Islanders from success." (4962)

9.5 Housing

April Report, Vol III, Part Two: 3-106; Vol IV: 13-16, 149-194.

Today at least 17,500 households with children have serious housing needs. Another 2000 without children are homeless or living in inappropriate or substandard housing.

With the cost of buying a house now high in relation to income, low-income, single income and beneficiary households are most disadvantaged. This has increased pressure on rental accommodation, creating shortages and higher rents.

The focus of the Government's housing policy is to ensure that families who cannot get help from the private sector are provided with acceptable, affordable housing. Thus low and medium income earners are targeted.

Funding

Having accepted the need for government intervention in the housing market, as with health and education, the question is what form it should take. On the evidence it seems that funding indirectly through the provision of housing allowances, though theoretically giving greater consumer choice, in practice would not deliver the required services. This is partly because of the existence of discrimination and the limited responsiveness of suppliers to changing housing demands.

We see a continuing role for the Housing Corporation in providing subsidised housing services, but with these services delivered in a more equitable and flexible way than at present.

We note the investment element in subsidising home ownership. It should be recognised however that home-ownership is especially valued by New Zealanders. But while resources are scarce we recommend that rental and co-operative forms of accommodation should be a priority for public expenditure.

Provision

In the past the needs of people with dependent children have been the focus of housing policy. With changing household structure, there are more one- and two-person households and more elderly householders in the population. Traditional focus will underestimate housing need and could mean that not all the kinds of housing required are provided.

Information should be collected and analysed on the housing needs of New Zealanders.



Being unable to afford housing is associated with poor housing and homelessness, as are inadequate employment opportunities, excess local demand for housing and discriminatory practices by landlords and lending institutions.

We believe that governments must make a financial commitment to eliminate homelessness over a set period and to ensure it is not allowed to develop again. At the end of that set period the state could accept a statutory responsibility to house the homeless.

The Housing Corporation should have a responsibility to develop a series of forward plans with the objective of adequate housing for all New Zealanders. In reaching its target it should develop a series of partnerships with other agencies (iwi authorities, local authorities, community groups, the private sector) to ensure a variety of appropriate housing.

To provide adequate housing for all New Zealanders, we recommend:

- ┆ Appropriate government activity in the provision of housing, with long-term identification and monitoring of housing needs, achievements and associated goals.
- ┆ Co-ordination of community, consumer, industry and statutory housing interests, and integration with other aspects of social policy.
- ┆ Programmes to meet the special needs of women, Pacific Island peoples, the aged, ethnic minorities and people with disabilities.
- ┆ Programmes to ensure improved housing of Maori people, involving the Housing Corporation, the Department of Maori Affairs and Maori authorities.

"For most New Zealanders, housing is a package of services. It is privacy, security, status, comfort, life style. It is a destination and a departure point. It is my place – a room with a view, milk bottles to put out, lawns to mow. It is my neighbourhood and my community – near my doctor, my church, my friends, my grandmother, my whanau, shops I know. More fundamentally, in our society, a home is a base from which we locate all the services considered to be necessary for our health and well-being." Shelter for All. (4036)

Chapter 10

THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

April Report, Vol IV: 5-6, 195-230.

A workable and credible system of justice is essential if New Zealand is to have a fair and just society.

The justice system should provide a fair and efficient means of resolving disputes. It should ensure that individuals receive justice and that society is protected. It should punish appropriately those who commit offences.

10.1 A good justice system

A good justice system should:

- ┆ Be a system which all citizens are able to use and can afford.
- ┆ Protect the rights of disadvantaged and minority groups.
- ┆ Make enforceable decisions.
- ┆ Be politically independent.
- ┆ Provide consistent and humane punishments.

In many respects New Zealand's justice system does not meet these principles. Many people regard it as complex, alien and remote from their every day lives. This is particularly true of ethnic minority and other disadvantaged groups. For many others too, it fails to provide a good service. Improvements are needed so that everyone has better access to justice. More flexibility is required in both the civil and criminal systems.

10.2 Matrimonial law

The inequalities resulting from the matrimonial property law is an area of particular concern. Although the Matrimonial Property Act 1976 is based on the concept of equal sharing of matrimonial property on the breakdown of marriage, in fact the spouse who undertakes caring for the children after the marriage breakdown (usually the mother) is also usually the one with poorer career prospects, and therefore at a financial disadvantage.

She is also at a disadvantage in cases where the family home is the main financial asset, because her low assets and low earnings mean she will find it difficult to finance home ownership or meet rent payments.

These facts should be considered when property is being re-allocated after a marriage breakdown.

Recommendations:

The division of property should attempt to:

- ┆ Achieve an equal result between the husband and the wife. This will usually mean that the spouse who has given up career advancement and cared for the children will be compensated.
- ┆ Protect the children's standard of living, as they will suffer if their housing is inadequate.

EQUALITY OF THE RACES

April Report, Vol IV: 27-31, 533-560, 561-572.

The Treaty of Waitangi is part of the framework for consideration of the equality of the races in New Zealand.

Another part of the framework is New Zealand's position as one of the island nations of the South Pacific. Immigration and other policies which reflect this position must be developed.

Equality of the races, although stated as one of the foundations of society in our terms of reference, is far from a reality in New Zealand today. While there are increasing numbers of people from different countries and races in the population, historically New Zealand has been and continues to be intolerant of diversity.

At no time since 1840 have New Zealand's immigration policies reflected a belief in the equality of races, and they continue to work against the acceptance of the identity and cultures of different people within the community.

Discrimination against people from other countries and races is evident in the way New Zealanders treat and support immigrants and refugees. It also affects employment and social structures.

Personal racism – prejudice against individuals simply because they speak a different language, look different, have different habits and customs – may be diminishing as New Zealand becomes more cosmopolitan.

More insidious and harder to eradicate is institutional racism, defined as "a bias in our social and administrative systems that automatically benefits the dominant race or culture, while penalising minority and subordinate groups". Unlike personal racism it cannot be countered through education alone, but needs national programmes to remove biases.

11.1 Goals for equality

We believe that New Zealand must move towards policies which actively support and sustain the different ethnic groups within the community, with these goals:

1. To ensure that members of all ethnic groups share fairly the economic, social and cultural resources of New Zealand.
2. To ensure the maintenance of the cultural identity of ethnic minorities.
3. To enable minority ethnic groups to make a full contribution to New Zealand's economic, social and political life.
4. To eradicate all forms of racism which are barriers to achieving those goals.

As a starting point we recommend the adoption of the recommendations relating to immigration (April Report, Vol IV: 27-28.)

Chapter 12

PACIFIC ISLAND PEOPLES' PERSPECTIVES

April Report, Vol IV: 28-30, 573-592.

To be a Pacific Island person living in New Zealand is likely to mean poor health, poor housing, poor education, low pay, unemployment, discrimination and erosion of one's culture.

At the same time, Pacific Island people have contributed in many ways to the economic, social and political life of New Zealand. Many were actively recruited to work in New Zealand industries.

In view of its past colonial relationship with the Pacific Island nations and continuing influence in the region, New Zealand should recognise special obligations to its citizens of Pacific Island origin. New Zealand's effectively separate immigration policy for Pacific Island people does not measure up to the standards of a fair and just society.

Our recommendations on immigration, housing, health, education, employment and women have particular relevance to Pacific Island people as one of the least advantaged groups in society.

We draw attention to the importance of policies which provide wide employment opportunities, including culturally appropriate co-operative approaches to employment.

We see an urgent need for appropriate education, including mother tongue teaching, which is essential both for the wellbeing of students and the survival of some Pacific Island languages.



PERSPECTIVES ON THE ELDERLY, YOUTH AND PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

13.1 The elderly

April Report, Vol IV: 32-34, 629-710.

There is a close link between particular attitudes to the elderly and the types of policies which are developed. In our study we looked at eight perspectives which are often used to describe the elderly (those over 60 years) and their role in society. No one view or perspective is complete and a good balance of the different perspectives is important.

The eight perspectives are:

- ❑ Medicalisation: the view that the elderly will have poor health. The focus is therefore on medical needs.
- ❑ A welderly (well elderly) approach which emphasises health promotion and good health as an ultimate goal. A shortcoming of this is that it fails to tackle social and economic problems.
- ❑ An institutional perspective that separates elderly people from the rest of society and into institutions.
- ❑ Community care which views the family and the whole community as providing help and support to the elderly.
- ❑ A dependency perspective that may undervalue independence and self-esteem through policies which make it difficult for the elderly to be independent.
- ❑ Empowerment – life enhancement which sees the elderly taking advantage of education opportunities, having a variety of different roles and being involved in decision making.
- ❑ Social construction: the view that most of the problems of ageing are not biological, but social. For example, compulsory retirement can make people dependent and non-productive.
- ❑ Continuity and integration: views the elderly as being totally integrated into society and no different from other age groups. Problems arise when the elderly are not able to get jobs, adequate housing and further education, rather than from age itself.

Each perspective raises particular concerns, but there are also strong positive aspects of ageing such as the unique and invaluable role of kaumatua in policy development. There is a need for choice in retirement and practical considerations relevant to caregivers.

Recommendations

1. We support the development of a national policy on ageing with objectives which are in line with the standards of a fair society.
2. We support the establishment of a Commission on Ageing which would sit for five years and be charged with setting up a national policy on ageing and the elderly.

"Most elderly people want a fair balance between the independence which gives a sense of dignity and is theirs by right and the security of knowing that they will receive the care and support they need in times of illness or stress." (4439)

3. To achieve a national policy, a set of new administrative strategies will be needed which include:

- ┘ Integration of medical and social strategies and the development of more multi-disciplinary programmes.
- ┘ Integration of institutional and community care so resources can be more effectively and efficiently used. This could best be managed under area health boards.
- ┘ Setting up of research programmes to look at the changing needs of the elderly and to evaluate policies.
- ┘ Planning for today's elderly and for future generations.

13.2 Rangatahi: youth perspectives

April Report, Vol IV: 17-18, 711-766.

The perspectives on youth were prepared for us by the National Youth Council and bring together three cultural strands of New Zealand opinion. They looked at views from Maori, Pacific Island and Pakeha perspectives.

A number of emphases recur: the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi to all New Zealanders; a future vision drawing on history and on spiritual and natural worlds; technology and creativity; co-operation and freedom.

Youth should be taking an active part in society and should be sharing in decision-making when policies are developed. Many youth groups and individual young people made submissions. Their opinions were wide-ranging and reflected their need to be self-supporting and enter the workforce.

In considering a youth entitlement (April Report, Vol II: 751) we see the need to look beyond income support to education, parenting, housing, health care and training.



We see value in the concept of a national youth policy that reflects the physical, spiritual, emotional, cultural, mental and economic wellbeing of all young people.

Recommendations

1. We support the central role of the Ministry of Youth in bringing together policy, and the need for policies to be developed by youth, not simply for youth.
2. We believe there will be an on-going role for the National Youth Council, and we recommend its methods of consultation to the Ministry as a way of ensuring that youth participate.

13.3 People with disabilities

April Report, Vol III, Part One: 461-488; Vol IV: 18-19, 767-804.

Nearly 500,000 New Zealanders suffer some form of disability – physical, sensory, psychiatric or developmental – of varying degrees of severity.

People with disabilities are a diverse group, with many differing needs. For some the disability is congenital, for some the result of accident or progressive disease and for some it is the result of ageing. Some have multiple disabilities and some have disabilities that are hidden. Because their disability has usually been treated as a medical concern, it is seen as a problem, with the disabled person deemed incapable of self-support.

People with disabilities experience discrimination in employment, in housing and in education. When they are employed they often have their activities limited by what others believe they are able to do. Having the same opportunities as others to engage in appropriate and personally satisfying employment, to live independently and be involved in the community is an important means for people with disabilities to achieve dignity, self-respect, material and social wellbeing.

Recommendations

1. Independence should be strengthened by legal sanctions against discrimination. We recommend that the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 be amended to outlaw discrimination affecting people with disabilities. (April Report, Vol II: 591-593.)
2. The needs of Maori people with disabilities should be met in a culturally appropriate way, so that resources are allocated fairly. Up until now the services provided for disability have been monocultural and have not acknowledged the Maori view of health. This is particularly true of mental health. Services have been provided in institutions and special schools isolated from the community.
3. There is a vital need for education about disability. This will improve the position of people with disabilities and is one positive side effect of mainstreaming in the education system.
4. We support the efforts of people with disabilities to claim their rights of citizenship and to fully participate and contribute to the future of New Zealand.
5. The community must make it easier for the disabled to contribute to society, and to develop themselves through education and employment.

"We have the same needs and desires as anyone else, to be self-sufficient, self-determining and to have a measure of dignity and self-respect, to be contributing and responsible members of society - to enjoy the same basic freedoms, rights responsibilities as anyone else." Advisory council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1866)

WHAT IS IN THE APRIL REPORT

What you have just read is a summary of the key themes and recommendations contained in the April Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (April 1988). The aim of this section is to be a guide to the full version of the April Report.

Volume I

Volume I is called *New Zealand Today* and contains major background information: an historical overview, a statistical description of New Zealanders, an analysis of submissions, and a report of a survey on attitudes and values. Also included is a preface to the entire report.

Volume II

If you want to know what conclusions the Commissioners made, go straight to *Volume II: Future Directions*. All the key principles and recommendations for change in social policy are contained in this volume.

Volume III

Called *Future Directions: Associated Papers*, this volume fills two books and is made up of supporting papers which show how the Commissioners came to their conclusions.

Volume IV

Social Perspectives, contains, in chapter one, the Commissioners' recommendations on more specific topics such as housing, education, and energy, and on such special perspectives as Pacific Island peoples, the elderly, youth, and the family. For each topic there is an authored chapter.

Where you can get a copy of the report.

You can buy a copy of The April Report from Government Bookshops for \$45.00. It can also be purchased by mailorder: Government Bookshop (04) 733-406 (toll free number). Quote item number 88H2. Copies are also available for borrowing at most libraries and Citizens Advice Bureaux.

Computer Access to the Report

The full text of The April Report has been put onto computer and is available through "Kiwinet" a service of the National Library. This means that if you only want to read the section of the report which deals with a specific subject you could select an appropriate key word or phrase such as "social services" or "te kohanga reo" and the computer would search and display each place where these words are used in the report.

Ask your librarian for information. There may be a charge for this service.

The Submission Database

The 6000 submissions have been summarised on computer using keywords and a short abstract. This submission database will also be available on "Kiwinet". A printed version can be purchased from Government Bookshops or borrowed from libraries. Copies of the original submissions will be deposited in the National Archives and main public libraries.

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Compiled by Gerald Fowler